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A
V I E W
O F T H E
R E I G N
O F
King *CHARLES* the First.

WHEREIN
The True Causes of
The Civil War

Are Impartially Delineated,

By Strokes borrow'd from Lord *Clarendon*, Sir *Philip Warwick*, *H. L'Estrange*, and other most Authentick and Approved *Historians*.

In A N S W E R

To the *LIBELS* lately Publish'd against a Sermon Preach'd by the Reverend *WHITE KENNET*, D. D. Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, &c.

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THE FIRST

OF THE



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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V I E W
Of the R E I G N of
King C H A R L E S the First.

TIS a Melancholy Reflection, that the *best things*, thro' the perverseness of our Nature, are generally corrupted to the *worst ends*; And that the Liberty we enjoy in *England*; under the best of Queens and the best Constituted Government, should, by some *Licentious and Servile Writers*, be abus'd to the Defaming Honest Patriots, and Branding Publick-Spirited Nations; which naturally tends to the bringing in Slavery: For nothing can more effectually destroy our happy Constitution, than the Heats and Animosities industriously rais'd and fomented amongst us by a Party of Designing Men, who under Pretence of Vindicating the Memory of the *Royal Martyr*, asperse and calumniate those who endeavor to compose our Differences.

A sad instance of this we find in the usage the Reverend Dr. Kennet, Doctor in Divinity, Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, and Minister of *St. Botolph without Aldgate*, has lately met with upon account of an excellent Sermon by him Preach'd before his Parishioners on the 31st of *January* last, and since made publick in Print, to clear the *Misapprehension of some few who heard it*, and to silence the *confident*, tho' false Report of a far greater Number who did not hear it.

The Publication of this Sermon has in great measure, had a contrary effect to what that Reverend Divine ought reasonably to have expected: For tho' it has undeceiv'd many honest People, yet, at the same time, it has given Birth to several *Libels*, in which his innocent Expressions are maliciously made to signify what the Author never had in his thoughts.

The unblemish'd Character and known Integrity of Dr. Kennet, as they put his *Loyalty* out of all suspicion, so they encline him to *despise Calumny*, and set him above Answering every spiteful Writer: But some of his Acquaintance, justly concern'd to see him thus irreverently treated, having wish'd that some indifferent Person would vindicate their injured Friend, this Writer unknown to the Author has chearfully undertaken that easy Task, congratulating himself with this opportunity to express the great esteem he has for that Learned and Worthy Divine, in Apologizing for Dr. Kennet, the Author of these Papers will not make use of *Rhetorical stretches*: These he leaves to those that want 'em, his *Calumniators*: Contenting himself by faithful Quotations from unexceptionable Historians, to make Truth appear, and to write such a Defence as may be allow'd by, and consist with the modesty of the Person he defends.

The first thing excepted against by the Doctor's unfair Censurers, is the *Title*, as well as the subject of his Sermon, endeavouring to insinuate to the World, *That Civil War is an Expression that palliates the Crime rather than any ways agreeable to the solemnities of the Day*. How this can give offence to any is hard to be imagin'd, since the Word, *Civil War* was ever used, as *Synonymous* with *Rebellion*, even by the warmest sticklers for that unfortunate Prince; as Dr. Kennet himself does in several Places in this very Sermon.

However, which of the two Words, *Civil War* or *Rebellion*, is the properest, History alone can determine, and therefore let us listen to Historians.

Welwood's
Memoirs,
p. 67. &
seq.

' Things were now going fast on, (says Dr. Welwood) towards lessening the Confidence betwixt the King and Parliament. And yet there were not wanting Endeavours on both sides to accommodate matters by soft and healing methods, when the King's coming to the House of Commons in Person, to demand five of their Members, whom he had order'd the Day before to be impeach'd of High Treason, did put all into Combustion, and gave occasion to the House to assert their Priviledges. This was the most unlucky step King Charles could have made at that juncture, and the Indiscretion of some that attended the King to the Lobby of the House, was insisted upon as an Argument, that the King was resolved to use Violence upon the Parliament, which it's to be presumed was a thing far from his thoughts, Whoever they were that advised the King to this rash attempt, are justly chargeable with all the Blood that was afterwards spilt; for this sudden Action was the first and visible Ground of all our following Miseries. For immediately upon it there was nothing but Confusion and Tumults, Fears and Jealousies every where, which spread themselves to Whitehall in the rudest manner; so that his Majesty thinking himself not safe there, he retired with

' with his Family to *Hampton-Court*. The King leaving the Parlia-
 ' ment in this manner, there were scarce any hopes of a thorough
 ' Reconciliation. But when after a great many removes from Place
 ' to Place, his Majesty came to set up his Standard at *Nottingham*,
 ' there ensued a *fatal and bloody War*; which it is reasonable to believe
 ' was never design'd by either side. Each Party blam'd the other for be-
 ' ginning this War, and it's not easy to determine which of them
 ' began it. Tho' the King made the first steps that seem'd to tend that
 ' way, such as raising a Troop for a Guard to his Person; Summoning the
 ' Gentlemen and Freeholders of several Counties to attend him in his Progress
 ' to the North, and ordering Arms and Ammunition to be bought in *Holland*
 ' for his use: Yet the Parliament did as much at the same time, for
 ' they likewise raised Guards of their own, and took care that the *Maga-*
 ' zine of *Hull* should not fall into the King's Hands. So that the King
 ' and Parliament prepar'd themselves insensibly for War, without
 ' considering that these Preparations must gradually and inevitably
 ' come to blows in the end. — During the whole course of this
 ' unnatural War, it was hard to divine what would be the Fate of
 ' England; whether an *absolute unlimited Monarchy*; a new huddled-
 ' up *Common-wealth*, or a downright *Anarchy*. If the King should
 ' prevail, the first was to be feared; if the Parliament, the second
 ' was to be apprehended: And if the Army should set up for them-
 ' selves, as afterwards they did, the last was inevitably to follow.
 ' All which some of the best Men about the King wisely foresaw,
 ' and trembled at the event of every Battle that was fought, whoever
 ' happen'd to be Victors. It was the dread of these misfortunes that
 ' hindred the Lords and Commons whom the King call'd to *Oxford*, to
 ' assume to themselves the Name of the Parliament of *England*, and
 ' from declaring those met at *Westminster*, *Rebels*; tho' the King
 ' again and again importuned them to it, and took their refusal so
 ' ill, that in one of his Letters to the Queen, he call'd them in De-
 ' rision his *Mungrel Parliament*.

Thus far *Dr. Welwood*, let's now hear the account the Earl of *Clarendon* gives of the beginning of the *Civil War*: ' The Rebellion of
 ' *Ireland*, says that Noble Historian, which was highly detrimental See Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.
 ' to the King's Affairs that began to recover Life, broke out in all
 ' Parts of the Kingdom, during his Majesties stay in *Scotland*, and
 ' made a wonderful impression upon the minds of Men, who were
 ' induced to believe, that it was influenc'd by the Court: The scan-
 ' dal of which Aspersions stuck upon the Queen's skirts. Some time
 ' after, the King commanded his Attorney General to accuse the
 ' Lord *Kimbolton*, and five *Commoners* of High Treason; and the next
 ' Day, his Majesty attended by his ordinary Guard, and some few
 ' Gentlemen, came to the House of Commons, and commanding
 ' his

his Attendants to wait without, himself, with the Prince Elector
 his Nephew, went into the House, to the great Astonishment of
 all, to demand the impeach'd Members: But finding, as he said,
the Birds were all flown, he return'd to *Whitehall*, and the House in
 great disorder adjourn'd till the next Day. When the Lord *Digby*,
 the only Person that gave the Counsel, found the ill success of the
 Impeachment in both Houses, he advis'd the King to go the next
 Morning to the *Guild-hall*, and acquaint the Mayor and Alder-
 men of the Grounds of it. As he pass'd thro' the City the rude
 People crowded together, crying out, *Priviledge of Parliament, Pri-
 viledge of Parliament*. However the King, tho' much mortified,
 pursu'd his resolution, and having Dined with one of the Sheriffs,
 he return'd to *Whitehall*, and the next Day a Proclamation came
 forth, for the apprehension of the accused Members, forbidding
 any Persons to conceal or entertain 'em. These Proceedings of
 the King created a wonderful change in the minds of all sorts of
 People: All the former noise of Plots against the Parliament,
 which before had been laught at, was now thought to be built upon
 good Grounds; and what hitherto had been only whisper'd of *Ire-
 land*, was now talk'd aloud, and publish'd in Print. They who
 with the greatest Courage had thwarted seditious Practises, were
 now confounded with the thoughts of what had been done, and
 what was like to follow. Tho' they were far from imagining the
 accus'd Members had been much wrong'd, yet they thought
 they had been call'd to an account at a very unseasonable time;
 And the exposing the Dignity and Safety of the King, in his
 coming in Person, in that manner, to the House of Commons,
 and going the next Day to the *Guild-hall*, where he met with such
 reproaches to his Face, added to their Anger and Indignation. All
 which was justly charg'd upon the Lord *Digby*, who was before less
 belov'd than he deserv'd, and was now the most universally hated
 of any Man in the Nation. *And yet continued in his Majesties Confi-
 dence.* — When the King perceiv'd, how ill his Accusation against
 the five Members succeeded, and that all who express'd any
 Signal Zeal to his service would be remov'd from him, under the
 notion of Delinquents, he resolv'd the Queen should remove
 to *Portsmouth*, and that himself would go to *Hull*, (*where his Ma-
 gazine lay*) and that being secur'd in those Places of strength,
 whither his Friends might resort and be protected, he would
 sit quiet, till the angry Party could be brought to reason.
 But this Resolution was discover'd to the leading Members, who
 obtain'd Orders from the Parliament for securing *Hull* and *Portf-
 mouth*: For which Reason, and a Promise from several Lords, that
 they would vigorously Unite to support the Regal Power, together
 with

' with the extreme Fear the Queen had of Danger, that Council was
 ' laid aside, and it was concluded the Queen should transport her-
 ' self to *Holland*, there to provide Arms and Ammunition; and the
 ' King retire to *York*, and listen to no particulars, till he knew how
 ' far the alteration would extend. Hitherto the greatest Acts of
 ' Hostility, excepting Sir *John Hotbham's* denying the King entrance
 ' into *Hull*, were no more than Votes and Orders; but now the
 ' King saw he was so far from having *Hull* restor'd, that the Garison
 ' there increased daily, so that Sir *John Hotbham* was better able to
 ' take *York*, than his Majesty to recover *Hull*; and therefore he
 ' thought it now high time to follow their Example, and put him-
 ' self into a posture of Defence. Hereupon such Gentlemen as were
 ' willing, Lifted themselves, by his Majesties Appointment, into a
 ' Troop of Horse, of whom the Prince of *Wales* was made Captain,
 ' which, with one Regiment of Train'd-Bands, was his Body-Guard.
 ' Assoon as they heard at *London* that the King actually had a
 ' Guard, these Votes were Publish'd by both Houses, *That the King,*
 ' *seduc'd by Evil Counsellors, intended to make War against the Parliament:*
 ' *That whensoever he did so, it would be a Breach of the Trust reposed in*
 ' *him, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of the Government;*
 ' *And that whosoever shall serve him, or assist him in such Wars, were Tray-*
 ' *tors, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and had been so adjudg'd*
 ' *by two Acts of Parliament, 2 Rich. 2. & 1 Hen. 4. These Votes were*
 ' *sent to the King at York, with a Petition that he would Disband his*
 ' *new-raised Forces, and content himself with his ordinary Guard, other-*
 ' *wise they should hold themselves bound with their utmost care to serve*
 ' *the Parliament, and secure the Publick Peace.*

Upon the King's denying their demand, they began to provide
 for the Raising of an Army: And here the same noble Author
 thinks it not amiss, to consider the Method of God's Justice, ' That
 ' the same Principles should be used to the extorting all Sovereign
 ' Power from the Crown, which the Crown had a little before us'd
 ' to extend its Authority beyond its Bounds, to the Prejudice of the just Rights
 ' of the Subject. A supposed Necessity was then thought Reason suf-
 ' ficient, to create a Power of Taxing the Subject as they thought
 ' convenient, by Writs of *Ship-Money*, never known before; and a
 ' suppos'd Necessity is now more fatally concluded a good Plea to
 ' exclude the Crown from the Exercise of any Power by an Ordi-
 ' nance of Parliament for Ordering the *Militia*, never before heard of;
 ' and the same Maxim of *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*, which had been
 ' us'd to break in upon the Liberty of the People, was applied for
 ' the destroying the Rights of the Crown. The King, (*pursues our*
 ' *Author*) conceiving the Rumors spread abroad might induce many
 ' to believe he intended to raise a War against his Parliament, he
 ' profess'd

' profess'd in Council, and said, *he declar'd to all the World, that he*
 ' *ever had an Abhorrence to such Designs, but that all his Endeavours aim'd*
 ' *at a sure Settlement of the Protestant Religion, the just Priviledges of*
 ' *Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace, and Prosperity of*
 ' *this Kingdom.* However, about this time, the King, by the Advice
 ' of some eminent Judges and Lawyers, issued out a De-
 ' claration concerning the *Militia*, asserting the Right of the Crown
 ' in granting *Commissions of Array* for the better Government thereof, and
 ' dispatched those Commissions into all Counties, expressly forbid-
 ' ding any Obedience to be paid to the Ordinance for the *Militia*
 ' by both Houses, under the penalty of High Treason. This only
 ' exasperated the Paper Combats in Declarations, each Party in-
 ' sisting, the Law was on their side; to which the People yielded
 ' Obedience as they saw it for their conveniency. Some Men
 ' well-affected to the Crown, and averle to the extravagant Carri-
 ' age of the House of Commons, could not conceal their
 ' Aversion to the *Commission of Array*, as a thing unwarrantable by
 ' Law: And many believ'd, if the King had applied himself to the
 ' old known way of Lords Lieutenants, and their Deputies, it had
 ' been more beneficial to his Service; for the People having never
 ' heard of a Commission of Array, were easily blown up to a Jea-
 ' lousie, by the specious Suggestions of the Houses. Some time after
 ' the King made a vain Attempt upon *Hull*, and upon his return to
 ' *York* found himself, by an accident that fell out, under an abso-
 ' lute Necessity of Declaring War: The Accident was, that Colonel
 ' *Goring*, Governor of *Portsmouth*, had declar'd for His Majesty, and
 ' refus'd to obey the Parliament; who had thereupon sent Sir *Wil-*
 ' *liam Waller*, with an Army under his Command, to reduce that
 ' Town. The King's Affairs receiv'd a considerable Reputation,
 ' in that so important a Place as *Portsmouth*, and so good an Officer
 ' as *Goring* was return'd to his Duty; whereupon he forthwith
 ' Publish'd a Declaration, in which he recited all the insolent Re-
 ' bellious Actions of the two Houses against him, forbidding all
 ' his Subjects to pay any Obedience to them; and at the same
 ' time Publish'd his Proclamation, *Requiring all Men who could bear*
 ' *Arms, to come to him at Nottingham, where he intended to set up*
 ' *his Royal Standard; which all his good Subjects were obliged to attend.*
 Thus far the Earl of Clarendon. By all which Passages it appears,
 That after reciprocal Provocations given, and many unwarrantable
 Things done on both sides, two contending Parties, in the same
 Nation, rose up in Arms, endeavouring the one to conquer and
 destroy the other; and what's this but a Civil War.

The Authors of the Libels publish'd against Dr. Kennet, are so un-
 fair, as to suspect the Praises he bestows in the first Page of his Ser-
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mon, upon King Charles, whom he sincerely and justly calls, *the Martyr of the Day, one of the most Virtuous and most Religious of our English Princes*: As if thereby, *he only intended to convey the deadly Poison more easily and effectually*. But to pass over these malicious Slurs, let us proceed to the Vindication of the Doctor's general Positions; the first of which is, *That a French Interest and Alliance was one of the leading Causes of the King's Murder*.

To prove this, Dr. Kennet justly * Remarks, ' That there was that * See his Sermon, p. 7.
 ' Frame and Constitution in our Ancestors, that their true *English*
 ' Hearts had continually some secret Aversion and antipathy to that
 ' Neighbouring Nation: And that *England* and *France*, like *Rome* and
 ' Carthage, stood always jealous and reviling one another. The old
 ' *English* Aversion, continues he, seems to have begun with the
 ' *Norman* Conquest, when our good Fore-fathers, then lately secured by the best Laws and Liberties in the World, were invaded
 ' and subdued by a Pretender from *France*; and they soon felt that
 ' Foreign Yoke to be so hard and grievous, that they would gladly have shaken it off; but the more patience they were forc'd to,
 ' the more they hated those insolent new Lords and Masters, calling often for their old Liberties, and the Laws of King *Edward*.
 ' This Anger and sort of Aversion to the *French*, did continue fix'd and rooted in the Minds of our right *English* Forefathers: And it
 ' was this inbred Spirit of Emulation that so often led our *English*
 ' Armies into the Bowels of *France*; and in the Reprisals of Honour
 ' conquer'd that Kingdom more than once, but never once more suffer'd this Kingdom to be conquer'd by the *French*. To deny this, would betray an absolute Ignorance of our *English* History, and therefore I shall not go about to illustrate it by Examples.

'Tis certain, that nothing could ever allay the natural Aversion, the *English* have to the *French*, but the Conformity in Religion with some of the latter; and 'twas only upon that score that the Nation was well-pleas'd with the seasonable Assistance which Queen *Elizabeth* yielded, from time to time, to the Reform'd of *France*. And by the Succours that Politick Princess was all along sending to the *United Provinces*, she put an invincible Bar to the Progress, *Spain* and *Rome* were then making towards Universal Empire, and kept the Ballance of Power even between the two great Monarchies of *Europe*.

But the next Prince, * *James I.* did not tread in her steps while * See D'Avanant's
 ' he Govern'd; National, or the Protestant Interest was no where vanant's Essay on Balance of Power. p. 8.
 ' pursued, secret Negotiations were carry'd on with the Pope; the
 ' Protestants were not only oppress'd in *Germany*, but reduc'd to the
 ' last Extremity, and Besieg'd in *Montauban* by *Lewis XIII.* and in *Rocheb.* by Count *Soissons*, and the Duke of *Guise*; and all that was
 ' done towards their Relief from hence, was by a Mediation carri-

ed on without any Vigour: And, which gave the People dreadful Apprehensions, *Spain* in those days was still Formidable, and an over-balance for all the rest of *Europe*, whose designs, instead of being oppos'd, were promoted by *England*, and the King meanly courted an Alliance with his greatest Enemy. The fear of Universal Monarchy, awaken'd the whole Kingdom, and brought on that Parliament which was Assembled in 1621. where very plain Remonstrances were presented to the Throne, setting forth the Dangers that threatned the Nation, who still had a fresh Sense of the Calamities their Ancestors had suffer'd under the Reign of Queen *Mary*: But *Spanish* Gold had charm'd our Court, and that Parliament was dismiss'd in anger, and several of the principal Members were Imprison'd, who could not sit silently and see their Country lost. Thus this old Prince chose rather to follow the Dictates of his own Will, and the pernicious Advice of his Favourites and Ministers, than the faithful and disinterested Counsel of his Parliaments, who address'd to him to Arm, and enter in to such Leagues as might oppose the Growth of the *Spanish* Monarchy: But he entertain'd secret Hopes, that so potent an Alliance, as that with *Spain* appear'd to be, would make him more powerful over his own People; and so notwithstanding the Representations of his Lords and Commons, in order to accomplish this Match, he broke some of those wholsom and necessary Laws made against *Papists*, which at last prov'd fatal to him and his Posterity; for by his rough dealings with the House of Commons, he then sow'd the Seed of that Discontent which ended in the Ruin of his Son. The general Clamours of the People, and their Fear of the Power of *Spain*, produc'd in that Reign another Parliament, which sat in 1623. and then the *Spanish* Match was broken off.

Hereupon the States General of the *United Provinces* recommended a Protestant Lady to King *James*, but that Prince being resolv'd to have the Daughter of a great King for his Son, did fatally turn his Eye to *Henrietta Maria*, Daughter of *France*.

See Rushworth's
Collections,
Vol. 1. p.
52.

The Marriage Treaty was not so fair, smooth, and plausible in the Progress, as in the Entrance: For the *French* perceiving that King *James* desired the Match unmeasurably, abated of their forwardness, enlarg'd their demands in favour of the *Papists*, as the *Spaniards* had done before, and strain'd the King to the concession of such Immunities as he had promis'd to his Parliament he would never grant, upon the Mediation of Foreign Princes. Cardinal *Richelieu*, who began to have the sole management of the *French* King's Affairs, in concert with *Spada*, the Pope's Nuncio, took all imaginable Precautions by this Treaty, to advance the *Romish* Religion and Interest,

Interest, hoping, as indeed it prov'd, that the Ecclesiasticks the Queen was allow'd to bring over with her, would propagate the Popish Faith, and that the Descendents from that Marriage, who were to be under the Tuition and Government of their Mother, till they came to the full Age of Thirteen, would by that time have sufficiently imbib'd her Religion, and should in time sit upon the English Throne: Which the Protestants of this Kingdom felt to their sorrow; for of Henrietta's two Sons, who Reign'd after their Father, one did all along secretly favour the Roman Catholicks, and * after a continued Dissimulation, and a most scandalous Life, died in that Persuasion; and the other, tho' not so dissolute in his Manners, did not scruple to own his true Sentiments, and notwithstanding his solemn Promise to maintain the Protestant Religion, by Law Established, endeavour'd by open force to destroy it.

* See Le Vasser Histoire de Louis 13.

The conclusion of the Marriage-Treaty, was attended in France with many outward and voluntary Expressions of Joy, as Bonfires and Illuminations; but 'twas only by express Orders from the Privy-Council that the like was done in London: For, as Dr. Kennet says very justly, Our English People never could heartily approve any Royal Match into the Court of France; and where-ever any such Match was enter'd into by our former Governors, it seems to have been against the Genius of our People, and therefore fatally against the Interest of these Princes. He instances the two unfortunate Reigns of Edward II. and Richard II. whose Marriages into that Court, had the consequence of a calamitous Life, and an untimely Death to these two Monarchs.

There was somewhat of the like pernicious Influence, adds Dr. Kennet, that worked upon the Tragedy of this Day. Our Royal Martyr, by taking a Royal Consort from the Bourbon Family, did apparently bring over some Evils and Mischiefs that disturb'd his whole Reign: For within less than one year the French Servants of that Queen grew so imperious and insolent, that the King was forc'd to discharge them, and to humble them by a return into their own Country.

A very sad Doom it was certainly to the French, says one of our * English Historians; but as the Animadversion * H. L'E- was extreme severe, so their Offences were in like degree heinous. strange in his Reign of King Charles disposed into Annals.

The Bishop of Mende, the Queens Almoner, stood charg'd for putting intolerable Scorn upon, and making Religion it self do Penance, by enjoining her Majesty, under the notion of Penance, to go Barefoot, to Spin, and to wait upon her Family Servants at their ordinary Repasts, to walk on Foot in the Mire on a rainy Morning, from Somerset-House to St. James's; her Confessor, meanwhile, like Lucifer himself, riding by her in his Coach; but which is worst of all, to make a Progress to Tyburn, there to present her Devotions for the departed Souls of the Papists who had been Executed at

that place, on account of the Gunpowder-Treason, and other enormous Crimes. A most impious Piaculary, whereof the King said acutely, *That the Action can have no greater Invektive than the Relation.* The other Sex were accused of Crimes of another Nature, whereof Madam St. George was, as in Dignity of Office, so in guilt, the principal; culpable she was in many particulars, but her most notorious and unpardonable Fault was, her being an accursed Instrument of some unkindness between the King and Queen. These Incendiaries once casht, the Queen who formerly shew'd so much waspish Protervity, soon fell into a mode of loving compliance: But tho' this *Renvoy* of her Majesties Servants imported Domestick Peace, yet was it attended with an ill Aspect from France, tho' our King, studying to preserve fair Correspondence with his Brother, sent the Lord Carleton with Instructions to represent a true Account of the Action, with all the motives to it; but his Reception was very course, being never admitted to Audience. Lewis dispatched Monsieur the Marshal de Bassompierre, as extraordinary Ambassador to our King, to demand the Restitution of the Queens Domesticks; which he at last obtain'd for most of them.

It † was this Match, adds Dr. Kennet, that began to corrupt our Nation with French Modes and Vanities; (which gave occasion to Mr. Prynne, to write that severe Invektive, call'd *Histrion-Mastix*, against the Stage-Plays) to betray our Counsels to the French Court; to weaken the poor Protestants in France, by rendering ineffectual the Relief of Rochel; nay, and to lessen our own Trade and Navigation. These ill Effects, beyond the King's intention, rais'd such a Jealousie, and spread such a damp upon the English Subjects, that it was unhappily turn'd into one of the unjust Occasions of the Civil War: Which indeed began more out of hatred to that Party, than out of any disaffection to the King. The People thought themselves too much under French Counsels, and a French Ministry, or else they could never have been drawn aside into that great Rebellion. This Interest, when suspected to prevail, brought the King into urgent Difficulties; and in the midst of them the Aid and Assistance which that Interest offer'd him, did but the more effectually weaken him. On this side the Water, the French Services betray'd him; and on the other side, the French Policies were at work to destroy him.

And indeed, as Queen Henrietta had a mighty, if not a Supreme Influence over King Charles's Counsels, so did her Mother, Mary de Medicis, who came over by her Invitation, administer great cause of jealousy to this Nation. The People (says the same * Historian I mention'd before) were generally Male-content at her coming, and wish'd her farther off. For they did not like her Train and Followers, which had often been observ'd to be the Sword or Pestilence, so that she was beheld as some Meteor of ill Signification. Nor was one of these Calamities thought more the effect of her

† Dr. Kennet's Sermon, p. 9. & 10.

* H. L. E. strange Annals of K. Charles, p. 158.

Fortune than Inclination; for her restless and unconstant Spirit, was prone to embroyl all wheresoever she came. And besides, as Queen *Henrietta* was extraordinary active in raising Money among the *Roman* Catholicks of this Kingdom, to enable King *Charles* to make War against his Subjects of *Scotland*, so was she extream busie in Fomenting the unhappy Differences between his Majesty and his *English* Parliament.

The *French*, says the Earl of *Clarendon*, according to their Nature, were much more active and more intent upon blowing the Fire. The former Commotions in *Scotland* had been rais'd by the special Encouragement, if not contrivance of the Cardinal *Richelieu*; and by his activity all these Distempers were carried on till his Death, and by his Rules and Principles afterwards. Since the beginning of this Parliament (in 1640.) the *French* Ambassador, Monsieur *la Ferrié*, dissembled not to have notable Familiarity with those who govern'd most in the two Houses, discover'd to them whatsoever he knew, or could reasonably devise, to the prejudice of the King's Counsels and Resolutions; and took all opportunities to lessen and undervalue the King's Regal Power, by applying himself on publick Occasions of State, and in his Majesties Name, and to improve his Interest to the two Houses of Parliament, which had in no Age before been ever known. — Besides these indirect Artifices in the *French* Ambassador, very many of the *Hugonots* in *France*, were declar'd Enemies to the King: And as this Animosity prov'd of unspeakable Inconvenience and Damage to the King, so the occasion from whence these Disaffections grew, was very imprudently Administred by the State here. Not to speak of the Business of *Rochel*, which tho' it struck deep in all, yet most imputed the Counsels of that time to Men that were dead, and not to a fix'd Design of the Court: They had a great Quarrel, which made them believe, that their very Religion was persecuted by the Church of *England*. Queen *Elizabeth* finding and well knowing what notable Uses might be made of the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Wal-loons*, who in the time of K. *Edward VI.* transplanted themselves into *England*, enlarg'd their Priviledges by new Concessions; drawing by this means great numbers over, and suffering them to enjoy the Exercise of the Reformed Religion after their own manner: And so they had Churches in *Norwich*, *Canterbury*, and other Places, as well as in *London*; whereby the Wealth of those places marvelously encreas'd. The same Charters of Liberty were continued to them during the peaceable Reign of King *James*, and in the beginning of this King's Reign. Some few years before these Troubles, when the Power of Church-men grew more transcendent, and indeed the Faculties and Understandings of Lay-Counsel-

History of the Rebellion, Vol. II
p. 71, 72,
73, 74.

lers more dull, lasie, and unactive, upon pretence that the *French*,
Dutch, and *Walloons*, exceeded the Liberties which were granted to
 them, and that under the notion of Foreigners, many *English* se-
 parated from the Church, the Council-Board conniv'd at, whilst
 the Bishops did some Acts of Restraint, with which these Congre-
 gations grew generally discontented, and thought the Liberty of
 their Consciences to be taken from them; which caus'd in *London*
 much complaining of this kind, but much more in the Diocess of
Norwich, where Dr. *Wren*, the Bishop there, passionately and warm-
 ly proceeded against them; so that many left the Kingdom, to the
 lessening the wealthy Manufacture there of Kerseys and narrow
 Cloths. — And whereas, in all former times, the Ambassadors,
 and all Foreign Ministers of State, employ'd from *England*, into
 any Parts where the Reformed Religion was exercis'd, frequented
 their Churches, gave all possible Countenance to their Profession,
 and particularly the Ambassador *Lieger* at *Paris*, had diligently and
 constantly frequented the Church at *Charenton*, and held a fair Inter-
 course with those of that Religion throughout the Kingdom, by
 which they had still receiv'd advantage. The contrary to this was
 now with great Industry practis'd, and some Advertisements, if
 not Instructions, given to the Ambassador there, to forbear any ex-
 traordinary Commerce with the Men of that Profession. And the Lord *Scu-*
damore, who was the last Ordinary Ambassador there, before the
 beginning of this Parliament, not only declin'd going to *Charenton*,
 but furnish'd his own Chappel, with such Ornaments as gave great of-
 fence and umbrage to those of the Reformation there, who had
 not seen the like: Besides that, he was careful to publish upon all
 occasions, *That the Church of England look'd not on the Hugonots as a*
part of their Communion: Which was likewise too much and too in-
 dustriously discours'd at home. — They of the Church of *Eng-*
land who committed the greatest Errors this way, had undoubted-
 ly not the least thoughts of making Alterations in it, towards the
 Countenancing of Popery, as has been uncharitably conceiv'd;
 But unskilfully believ'd, that the total Declining the Interest of that
 Party, where it exceeded the necessary Bounds of Reformation, would
 make this Church of *England* look'd upon with more Reverence.
 And so the Church of *England* not giving the same Countenance to
 those of the Religion in Foreign Parts which it had formerly done,
 no sooner was discern'd to be under a Cloud at home, but those of
 the Religion abroad were glad of the occasion, to publish their Ma-
 lice against her, and to enter into the same Conspiracy against the
 Crown, without which they could have done little hurt to the Church.

Many tender Lovers of their Faith and Country, says Dr. Kenet, might Dr. Kenet's Sermon, p. 11, 12, 13, 14.
well deplore the unhappiness of that Alliance, with France, which gave no small occasion to the Calamity and the Curse of this Day: For it was from thence that did arise, the Apprehensions and Fears of Popery. Popery, that irreconcilable Enemy, not only to our Reformed Faith and Worship, but to our Civil Rights, Liberties and Properties, to our establish'd Laws, and to our settled Constitution. It was for this wise and good reason, that our first Reformers would never bear with any express Toleration of Popery, nor with any long Connivance at it. That excellent young Josiah, King Edward VI. would not dispense with his own Sister to have publick Mass in her own Family. Queen Elizabeth indulg'd them no longer than while there were some hopes to reclaim them. Her next Successor, King James, was a Champion against Popery, and strenuously oppos'd it, both as a wise Governour, and a Learned Writer; and this gave Peace and Happiness to the greatest part of his Administration: But when toward the decline of it, he fell into a Treaty for a Match with Spain, and during that Treaty did in a manner suspend the Laws against the Papists, and gave his Subjects an occasion to believe, that one Article of that Match was to be a Toleration of Popery. This gave such universal Jealousy and Discontent to his People, and the Parliaments of 'em, that it threatned apparent danger; and if that Treaty had not broke off, and thereby eas'd the minds of People, we know not what might have been in the end thereof. For certainly his Royal Son, the Martyr of this Day, might justly impute many of his Troubles to these Fears and Jealousies of Popery: And they really began with the French Alliance, where one Article was to have a Publick Chappel, and Priests and Mass for the Queen and her Houshold. This gave an opportunity of open resort to all Papists, Foreigners and Natives; This gave Shelter and Protection to swarms of Jesuits and other Emissaries from Rome; This gain'd an Interest at Court for Pardons and for Patents of Profit and Preferment to the leading Roman Catholicks; This brought over one or two Nuncio's from the Pope to attend upon the Queen. In short, this did give Countenance to Popery; and therefore did cast a damp and dread upon many sincere Protestants; and did put them into such terrible apprehensions of the Romans coming to take away their Place and Nation, that this strength of Fear too much began the Civil War, and help'd to carry it forward to the Innocent and sacred Blood shed upon this Day.

In all these Dr. Kenet speaks with the most authentick and faithful Historians: The Jesuits, seminary Priests, and other Recufants, says † H. L'Estrange, presuming Protection by reason of the late Match, contracted so much Insolence, that at Winchester, and many other Places, they frequently passed thro' the Churches in time of Divine Service, houting and ho-lo-ing, not only to the disturbance of that Duty, but scorn of our Religion; yea, and one Popish Lord, when the King was at Chappel, was heard to praise on purpose louder, in a Gallery adjoyning, than the Chaplain prayed, whereat

† Annals of King Charles's Reign, year 1625 p. 19.

whereat the King was so mov'd, that he sent this Message to him: Either let him come and do as we do, or else I will make him prate further off.

In the year 1627, a notable discovery was made of a Colledge of Jesuits at Clerkenwel, of which the same * Author gives us this account.
 * Pag. 75. The first Information was given by one Crosse, a Messenger to Secretary Coke, whereupon he sent the Sheriff to attach them; who coming with a formidable Power, found all the holy Foxes retired, and sneak'd away; but after long search, their place of security was found out, it being a Lobby behind a new Brick-wall waincotted over; which being demolish'd, they were presently unkenel'd, to the number of Ten. They found also divers Letters from the Pope to them, empowering them to erect this Colledge, under the Name of *Domus Probationis*, (but it prov'd *Reprobationis*) *Sancti Ignatii*; and their Books of Accounts, whereby it appear'd they had 500 l. per Annum Contribution from their Benefactors, and had purchas'd 450 l. per Annum.

Among their Papers, says * Mr. Rushworth, was found a Copy of a Letter written to their Father Rector at Brussels, discovering their Designs upon this State; of which I shall transcribe these remarkable Passages: *Let not the damp of Astonishment seize upon your ardent and zealous Souls, in the apprehending the sudden calling of a Parliament: We have not oppos'd, but rather further'd it. You must know, the Council is engag'd to assist the King by way of Prerogative, in case the Parliamentary Way should fail. You shall see this Parliament will resemble the Pelican, which takes a pleasure to dig out with her Beak her own Bowels. The Election of Knights and Burgesses has been in such confusion of apparent Faction, as that which we were wont to procure heretofore with much Art and Industry (when the Spanish Match was in Treaty) now breaks out naturally, as a Botch or Boil, and spits and spews out its own Rancour and Venom. That great Statesman, the Count of Gundomar, had but one principal Means to further his great and good Designs, which was to set on King James, that none but the Puritan Faction, which plotted nothing but Anarchy, and his Confusion, were averse to this most happy Alliance and Union. We steer'd on the same Course, and have made great use of this Anarchical Election, and have prejudicated and anticipated the Great One, that none but the King's Enemies, and his, are chosen of this Parliament. We have now many strings to our Bow, and have strongly fortified our Faction, and have added two Bulwarks more. Now we have plant'd that Sovereign Drug Amnianism, which we hope will purge the Protestants from their Herefie. The Materials which build up our Bulwark, are the Projectors and Beggars of all Ranks and Qualities: Howsoever, both these Factions co-operate to destroy the Parliament, and to introduce a new Species and Form of Government,*
 which

* Rushworth's
 Collections, part. I.
 pag. 474.

which is Oligarchy. These serve as direct Mediums and Instruments to our end, which is the Universal Catholick Monarchy. Our Foundation must be Mutation, and Mutation will cause a Relaxation, which will serve as so many Violent Diseases, to the speedy destruction of our perpetual and insufferable Anguish of Body. The Arminians and Projectors affect Mutation: This we second, and enforce by probable Arguments. In the first Place, we take into consideration the King's Honour, and present necessity; and we shew how the King may free himself of his Ward, as Lewis the XIth did. And for his great Splendor and Lustre he may raise a vast Revenue, and not be beholden to his Subjects, which is by way of imposition of Excise. Then our Church Catholicks proceed to shew the means how to settle this Excise, which must be by a mercenary Army of Horse and Foot. For the Horse we have made that sure; They shall be Foreigners and Germans, who will eat up the King's Revenues, and spoil the Countrey, tho' they should be well paid. In forming the Excise the Countrey is most likely to rise: If the Mercenary Army subjugate the Countrey, then the Soldiers and Projectors shall be paid out of the Confiscations; if the Countrey be too hard for the Soldiers, then they must consequently Mutiny, which is equally advantageous to us, our superlative design is, to work the Protestants as well as the Roman-Catholicks to welcome in a Conqueror.

All this is confirm'd by the Testimony of the Earl of Clarendon:

' The Papists, (says † that Illustrious Historian) who had for many Years enjoy'd a great Calm, grew unthrifty managers of their Prosperity: They appear'd more publicly; entertain'd and forc'd Conferences more avowedly than had been known before. They were known not only secret Authors, but open Promoters of the most grievous Projects. The Priests had forgot their former Modesty and Fear, and were as willing to be known as listen'd to: Infomuch as a Jesuit at Paris, designing for England, had the impudence to visit the Ambassador there, and offering his service, acquainted him with his intended Journey, as if there had been no Laws for his Reception. And shamefully to countenance the whole Party, an Agent from Rome resided at London in great State. They had publicly collected Money to a considerable Summ, to be by the Queen presented as a free Gift from his Catholick Subjects to the King, towards carrying on the War against the Scots, which drew upon 'em the Rage of that Nation: In a word they behaved themselves so, as if they had been suborn'd by the Scots to destroy their own Religion.

Let's now listen to a Foreign † Historian, who has publish'd his *Revolutions of England*, with the particular Approbation of the

† History
of the Re-
bellion.
Part I.
Book II.

† Father
D' Orle-
ans. His
Revoluti-
ons of Eng-
land.

Vol. III.

late pag. 29.

late King James; and who being a Jesuit cannot be suspected of Partiality to the Protestants. The Scots, says he, finding themselves so strongly supported, had no sooner receiv'd an Answer from the Court, than there arose a thousand confused Voices, crying out, that all was lost; that the King not contented with having taken away from the two Nations both their Liberties and Goods, design'd to lay a Yoke on their Consciences, and make an absolute change in Religion. These complaints had not mov'd the generality of People, nor rendred the Government sufficiently odious, according to the wishes of the discontented, had it not been insinuated besides, that the King made great Advances to Popery, and resolv'd to make his Subjects embrace it. Nothing was more false than this Report. Charles was a Protestant by inclination, and never lov'd the Roman Catholicks: But the very Report, tho' false, had such Appearances of truth, as made it easily believ'd. We must do the Queen the Justice to say, that she had during all her Life a true Zeal for the Restoration of the Catholick Faith in England, and for the Honour of the King her Husband: But it cannot be denied, that sometimes she practis'd that Zeal with somewhat more imperiousness than the time allowed. Acted by that Spirit which results from the Blood of those absolute Monarchs, of whom their Subjects require no other Reason for their Commands than their Will, she did not sufficiently consider, that she Reign'd in a Country, where the most solid Reasons are not always able to make the People follow the Opinion of those who govern them. So limited an Authority, and which must be manag'd with Art, was took'd on by the Queen as a slavery, from which she us'd all her Endeavours to free the King her Husband and her self. Therefore, without much regarding the Nicety of the Nation, she had constantly near her a Nuncio from the Pope, of whose Character and Functions none at Court were Ignorant. She entertain'd an open Correspondence with the Popish Lords; she loudly, and sometimes roughly, made her self a Party in any thing wherein the Romish Church was concern'd; And having with her a great Number of Ecclesiasticks, who had been restor'd to her by the Peace, and who, some of them, had more Piety than Prudence, she had frequent disputes with the most Zealous Protestants, wherein the King, who lov'd her tenderly, indulg'd her humour, and even took her Part, when she desir'd it of him. This Conduct of Charles, in relation to his Queen had already made him suspected of not being too good a Protestant, whatever he did to appear such, when the Zeal he shew'd for the undertaking of Arch-Bishop Laud (viz. the introducing the English Liturgy in Scotland) encreasing that suspicion, gave occasion to his Enemies to publish, that he was a Roman Catholick, and that, in concert with that Prelate, he made it his Business to reconcile England to the see of Rome. The Conduct of Laud was such as made these suspicions probable: For tho' every Body agrees now, that like

like the King his Master, he was a Zealous stickler for the Protestant Set, yet there was then Reason not to think so of him, by the Fondness that Prelate had for Ceremonies; by the Advice he gave to young Students, to read the Fathers rather than the Protestant Divines, by his Denial to admit the Decisions of the Synod of Dort; And much more than all this, by the Conduct of the Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, his intimate Friend, and Confident of all his Designs.—That Prelate had procured him the Government of Ireland, in hopes he should second his Projects: And that Lord, wisely foreseeing that Laud would raise all the Presbyterians against the King, had rais'd an Army in that Island, to maintain the Royal Authority; And tho' he was a Protestant, as well as his Master and Friend, he had done the Roman Catholicks the Honour to believe 'em better affected to their Prince than the rest: And therefore had compos'd his Army of them.

What the Jesuit advances concerning Archbishop Laud, may be further illustrated by what Dr. Welwood says of that Prelate, That scarce any Age has produc'd a Man, whose Actions and Conduct have been more obnoxious to Obloquy, or given greater occasion for it. There was, adds the Doctor, one thread that run through his whole Accusation, and upon which most of the Articles of his Impeachment turn'd: And that was, his inclination to Popery, and his design to introduce the Romish Religion: Of which his immortal Book against Fisher, and his Declaration at his Death, do sufficiently acquit him. And yet not Protestants only, but even Roman Catholicks themselves were led into this mistake; otherwise they would not have dared to offer one in his Post, a Cardinals Cup, as he confesses in his Diary they did twice. The Introduction of a great many Pompous Ceremonies into the Church; the Licensing some Books that spoke favourably of the Church of Rome, and the refusing to License others that were writ against it, were the principal Causes of his being thus misrepresented: And indeed his behaviour in some of these matters, as likewise in the Starchamber, and High-Commission-Court, can hardly be accounted for; and particularly his Theatrical manner of Consecrating Catharine-Creed-Church, in London: Which is related at length by Mr. Rushworth, in the second Part of his Historical Collections, Vol. I. p. 72.

By all these it plainly appears, that the Doubts and Fears of Popery, were not Groundless, and according to Dr. Kennet's Assertion, That they lost an Orthodox and most regular Prince, the Hearts of too many of his People; and almost robb'd him of the next Valuable Blessing, his Good Name. For upon his tender Compliances with his entirely beloved Royal Consort, his Enemies took advantage to misrepresent him for a Papist: Tho' this was a Calumny false and malicious.

Welwood's
Memoirs,
p. 61.

† See his
Sermon,
1. 15. &
seq.

In the third Place, Dr. † Kennet mentions the *Jealousies, the Thoughts and Dread of Oppression and illegal Power*, among the leading Causes of the King's Murder: For as he wisely remarks, *Tyranny and Oppression seem in their Nature made to hate, and yet to help forward one another. And former Princes did rarely infringe the Charter of Publick Liberties, without hurting themselves, and leaving a Wound upon Monarchy it self. For the least attempts towards Slavery and Exorbitant Power, raised up the appearance of a Yeke, that our Forefathers were not able to bear: And we are their Off-spring. Doctor Kennet is far from thinking, that King Charles, ever propos'd to injure the Birth-Right of his Subjects: But adds he, how happy had it been for the Peace of that Reign, if even doubts and suspicions had been wanting, if the Body of a good natured English People had but thought themselves secure in their legal Rights and Tenures, for then they could never have been seduc'd into that unnatural Rebellion. They must of necessity first believe, that their Liberties, and Estates were in some danger, and under that Prospect and Perswasion, they must have been drawn in, for the meaning, at least, of Self-preservation. How happy, if no Tonnage or Customs, had been exacted without a Bill to be easily obtain'd for 'em! If no Arwing into Loans and Benevolence, if no Projecting extraordinary Supplies, without the readier Aid of Parliament; and especially if no levying of Ship-Money to the surprize and burden of the People, who never had a Notion of Taxes, but as of Money given by their own consent! These Hardships (to call em by that Name only) did serve to exasperate the minds of the People, and did prepare them by degrees to be led out first in Riots and Tumults, and then in Troops and Armies, against their lawful Sovereign. And tho' 'tis certain, that the King himself did not hastily contrive or command any of those hard measures; but he had his Ministers to propose them, and his very Judges to approve them; Yet, Good Prince! He answer'd for the Account, and at the Foot of it, with invincible Patience paid down his Royalty and his Life.*

† H. L' EStrange's
Reign of
K. Charles,
p. 63, 64.

In all this the Reverend Divine speaks with the most faithful and impartial Historians. In this perplexed difficulty, says † one of these, at length his Council agreed to set that great Engine his Prerogative on work: Many Projects were hammer'd on that Forge, but that which the Council stuck closest to, was the issuing of a Commission, dated the 13th of Octob. 1626. For raising of almost 200000 Pounds by way of Loan; and the more to expedite this Levy, the Commissioners were instructed to represent to the Subject the deplorable Estate of Rochel. These were plausible insinuations: But all would not smooth the Asperity of this illegal Tax; Rochel, and all other foreign Considerations must stand by, when inbred Liberty is disputed; so that the almost moiety of the Kingdom oppos'd it to durance. Upon this account of refusal, Prisoners,

soners, some of the Nobility, and most of the Prime Gentry, were daily brought in by scores; I might almost say by Counties, so that the Council-Table had almost as much Work to provide Prisons, as to supply the King's Necessities. 'The Assessment of the general Loan, says * Mr. Rush-

'worth, did not pass currently with the People; for some Persons
'absolutely refused to subscribe their Names, or to say, they
'were willing to lend if able. Whereupon the Council directed
'their Warrant to the Commissioners of the Navy, to impress
'those Men to serve in the Ships ready to go out in his Majesties
'Service.-----The Non-subscribers of high Rank and Right, in all
'the Counties, were bound over by Recognizance, to tender their
'appearance at the Council-Table, and perform'd the same ac-
'cordingly, and divers of them were committed to Prison; but
'the common sort to appear in the Military Yard near St. Martin's
'in the Fields; before the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, by
'him to be there enrolled among the Companies of Soldiers;
'that they who refus'd to assist with their Purse, should serve in
'their Persons. Among the rest, † Sir Peter Hayman, refusing to
'part with Loan-Money was call'd before the Lords of the Coun-
'cil, and commanded to go into his Majesties Service into the
'Palatinate.

* *Histori-
cal Collecti-
ons*, p. 1.
Vol. I.
p. 422.

† *Id.* pag.
431.

'Among other means of raising Money, says * Dr. Welwood,
'that of Loan was fallen upon; which met with great difficul-
'ties, and was generally taken to be illegal. One Sibthorp, an
'obscure Person, in a Sermon Preach'd at the Assizes at Nor-
'thampton, would make his Court by asserting not only the Law-
'fulness of this way of imposing Money by Loan, but that it was
'the indispensable Duty of the Subject to comply with it. At
'the same time Dr. Manwaring, another Divine, Preach'd two
'Sermons before the King at Whitehall, in which he advanc'd
'these Doctrines, viz. That the King is not bound to observe the Laws
'of the Realm, concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties; but that
'his Royal Word and Command in imposing Loans and Taxes without
'Consent of Parliament, does oblige the Subject's Conscience, upon pain of
'Eternal Damnation. That those who refus'd to pay this Loan, did
'offend against the Law of God, and became guilty of Impiety, Disloyalty
'and Rebellion. And that the Authority of Parliaments is not necessary
'for raising of Aids and Subsidies.

* Wel-
wood's
Memoirs,
p. 44.

'Every body knew Abbot was averse to such Doctrines: And
'to seek an advantage against him, Sibthorp's Sermon, with a De-
'dication to the King, was sent him by order of his Majesty to
'License. Abbot refus'd, and gave his Reasons in Writing; which
'Bishop Laud answer'd, and with his own Hand Licens'd both

'Sibthorp's

Sibthorp's and Manwaring's Sermons. Upon this Archbishop *Abbot* was confin'd to his Countrey House, and suspended from his Function; the Administration of which was committed to *Bishop Laud*, and some others of his recommendation.

How happy had it been for King *Charles*, if, in his time, instead of such Divines as *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*, none had ascended the Pulpits, but Men of the Principles of *Dr. Kennet*, who has a right notion of our *English Constitution*; which if carefully preserv'd, holds out in the most regular Health and Safety; but if once put out of order, it is hard to set right again!

History of
the Rebelli-
on. Part I.
Book I.

Let's now attend how the Earl of *Clarendon* relates the Grievances and Oppression of this Reign: 'The Proclamation, says he, issued out at the dissolution of the second Parliament, afflicted many good Men so far, that it laid their Ears open to the Insinuations of those who made it their business to infuse an ill opinion into Men, that by it the King declar'd, he really intended we should have no more Parliaments; and the danger of such an inquisition being by this notion remov'd, ill Men were not only encourag'd to all License, but even those who had no Propensity to ill, imagining themselves above the reach of ordinary Justice, learn'd by degrees to look on that as no Fault, which was like to find no Punishment. Provisional Acts of State were formed to supply defect of Laws; so Tonnage and Poundage, which had absolutely been refused to be settled by Parliament, were collected upon Merchandise by order of the Council-Board; Antiquated Laws were reviv'd, and with Rigor executed;---The Law of Knight-hood, which, tho' founded in right, was in the method of its Execution very grievous; the Laws of the Forest, by Virtue of which, not only great Fines were imposed, but Yearly Rents design'd, and like to have been settled by Contract; And lastly, for an everlasting Supply upon all occasions, a Writ directed in form of Law to the Sheriff of every County in England, to send a Ship amply provided for the King's Service; and with an instruction, that instead of a Ship, such a sum of Money should be levied upon each County; with directions, how those that were refractory should be proceeded against, from whence that Tax was call'd Ship-Money, were not the only unjust, scandalous and oppressive measures at that time set on Foot.-----And here the use the Judges were put to in this, and like Acts of Power, redound much to the mischief and damage of the Crown and State, in whose Integrity and Innocence the Dignity of the Laws mainly resided; the mysteries of which, when they had measured by the Standard of what they call'd General Reason, and explained by the

Wisdom

of State; they justly deserv'd that Irreverence and Scorn,
with which the House of Peers afterwards us'd them.

Tho' the Nation, in general, bore no ill-will to the Church,
either in the Point of Doctrine or Discipline, yet were they
jealous that Popery was not sufficiently discourag'd, and were
easily persuad'd to believe any thing they had not been us'd
to, and which they call'd *Innovation*, was admitted purely to
please the *Papists*. The Archbishop * had all his life-time vigor- * *Laud.*
ously oppos'd Calvin's Doctrine, and thereupon his Enemies
call'd him a *Papist*. — He retain'd, when he came into Au-
thority, too sharp a memory of those by whom he had been
Persecuted; and was but too guilty himself of the same Passion
he complain'd of in his Adversaries; That as they accus'd him
of *Popery*, for maintaining some Doctrinal Points they disliked,
so he look'd on some Persons as Enemies to the Discipline of
the Church, because they agreed with *Calvin* in some Points of
Doctrine. He was a Man of great Courage and Resolution,
and resolv'd to make the Discipline of the Church felt, as well
as spoken of, applying it without any respect of Persons, as
much to the greatest, as meanest Offenders. There were three
Persons, (*Pryn, Burton, and Bastwick*) most notorious for their
avow'd Malice to the Government of the Church, which in
their several Writings they had Publish'd: One of 'em was a
Divine, the other a Common Lawyer, and the third a Doctor
of Physick; and tho' neither of 'em had any Interest or
Esteem with the worthy Part of their several Professions, yet
when they were all sentenc'd and expos'd like common Rogues
upon Scaffolds, to have their Ears cut off, and their Faces and
Foreheads branded with red-hot Irons, Men began no longer
to consider their Manners, but the Men, and each Profession
imagin'd their Education, Degrees, and Quality, had rais'd
them above the reach of such infamous Judgments, and trea-
sured up Wrath for the time to come.

The Convocation (says the same Author in † another place)
was after the Dissolution of the last Parliament, continued by † *History*
a new Writ, and sat under the proper Name of a Synod, made *of the Re-*
Canons, which Men thought it might do, and gave Subsidies, *bellion,* Book II.
and enjoyn'd Oaths, which, without doubt, it could not do;
in a Word, did several things, which, in the best of Times,
might have been question'd, and were therefore certain to
be condemn'd in the Worst; and drew the same Prejudice up-
on the whole Body, to which only some particular Clergy-Men
were before expos'd. The

* Id. Book
III.

' The * *High-Commission-Court* ' was erected in the first Year of
' Queen *Elizabeth*, and was of great use for the maintaining the
' Peace and Dignity of the Church, whilst it was exercis'd with
' moderation. But of late, the great Power of some Bishops at
' Court had made it over-flow its Banks, and thereupon gain'd it
' many Enemies.-----The *Star-Chamber-Court* was of late grown so
' exorbitant, that there were few Persons, who had not suffer'd by
' it. For they had enlarg'd their Jurisdiction, from the Cognizance
' of Riot, Perjury, and the most notorious Misdemeanors, to the
' Vindicating all Proclamations and Orders of State, to the main-
' taining illegal Commissions, and Grants of Monopolies, so that
' no Man was free from the lash of it, any longer than he resolv'd
' to submit to those, and such like extraordinary Courses.

Fourthly, among the Causes that conspir'd in the Murder of King
Charles the First, † Dr. Kennet mentions the Growth of Immorality
† See his Sermon, and Prophaneness, which were unhappily objected to the Reign of this
P. 21. 22, Prince, tho' he was himself a very Devout and Conscientious Prince.
23. And really, adds that Reverend Divine, it was no wonder, if under
the Covert of Popery, a Spirit of Prophaneness did more sensibly ob-
tain. It is not want of Charity to say, what we see with our Eyes, that
the Principles of Popery are adapted to a Looseness in Morals ; and that
therefore the general Practice of the Members of that Church is strict in
nothing but little outward observations. We are not to believe all the
Complaints that serious Persons made of the Dissoluteness in the King's
Army at that time : It was a juster objection, that the Prophaneness of the
Fif. Ma- English Stage began then to be more scandalous, than it had been in
fix. 1633 former times. So very scandalous, that in pure indignation a learned
Tract was written against this growing Evil, or as in its own Title,
against the intolerable Mischiefs and Abuses of Common-Plays
and Play-Houses. But this Reproof of Impiety did so offend the French
Party, and made them so incense the Queen, that the Author (Mr. Pryn)
was Prosecuted and Stigmatiz'd for it, with a severity that was thought
to be Cruel.

* Pag 128.
129.

All this is confirm'd by the Testimonies of Historians : ' In the
' Year 1618, says *H. L' Estrange* (in his Annals * of King Charles's
' Reign) King *James* publish'd a Declaration tolerating Sports on
' the Lord's Day call'd *Sunday*. This Declaration then caus'd so
' many impetuous Clamours against it, as it was soon after call'd
' in : And was this October (1633.) revived and ratify'd by King
' Charles. The expresse design of this was to restore the Feasts and
' Dedications of Churches, commonly call'd *Wakes*, to their anci-
' ent Solemnity, and to allow the use of lawful Pastimes in the
' Lower Row upon that Day. It was also argued in favour of it,
' that

' that there was in the Kingdom a potent tendency in ma-
 ' ny to *Judaism*, occasion'd by the dangerous Doctrine of
 ' several *Puritans*, especially of one *Theophilus Brabourn*, an ob-
 ' scure and ignorant School-master, asserting the perpetual and
 ' indispensable Morality of the *Sabbath* of the Fourth Com-
 ' mandment. Again in other no small inclination to *Popery*,
 ' occasion'd by the Rigor and Strictness of *Sabbatharian Mi-*
 ' *nisters*, in denying People Recreations on the *Sunday*. But
 ' all these plausible insinuations operated little to a welcome
 ' Entertainment: Nor was there any one *Royal Edict*, during
 ' all King *Charles's* Reign, resenting with equal Regret. The
 ' fault was least his Majesties, and not only ill Counsel, but
 ' ill Custom was to blame: For, too true it is, the Divinity
 ' of the *Lord's Day*, was then new Divinity at Court, where
 ' the publick assemblies once over, the indulgence of secular
 ' Employment and Recreations, was thought so little disservice
 ' to God, as not only civil Affairs were usually debated at the
 ' Council Table, but also *Representations of Masques* were rarely
 ' on other than *Sabbath Nights*: And all this fomented by both
 ' Doctrine and Practice of Men very Eminent in the Church;
 ' which seem'd the greater Prodigy, that Men who so eagerly
 ' cry'd up their own *Orders*, and *Revenues* for *Divine*, should
 ' so much decry the *Lord's Day* for being *such*, when they had
 ' no other Existence, than in relation to this.

' Prophaneness, says † another Author, too much abound- May. Hi-
 ' ed every where: Luxury in Diet and Excess both in Meat ^{story of the}
 ' and Drink was crept into the Kingdom in an high degree, ^{Parlia-}
 ' not only in the quantity, but in the wanton Curiosity. ^{ment of}
 ' And in the abuse of those good Creatures which God had ^{England.}
 ' bestow'd upon this Plentiful Land, they mixed the Vices of ^{Book I.}
 ' divers Nations, catching at every thing that was new and ^{pag. 19.}
 ' foreign. As much Pride and Excess was in Apparel, almost
 ' among all Degrees of People, in new fangled and various
 ' fashion'd Attire; they not only imitated but excelled their
 ' foreign Patterns, and in fantastical Gestures and Behaviours,
 ' the Petulances of most Nations in Europe.

The Clergy, † says the same Writer, were wholly taken up in ^{Book I.}
 ' Admiration of the King's happy Government, which they never con- ^{pag. 22.}
 ' ceal'd from himself, as often as the Pulpit gave them Access to his ^{23, 24.}
 ' Ear; and not only there, but at all Meetings, they discours'd with
 ' Joy upon that Theme; affirming confidently, that no Prince in Europe
 ' was so great a Friend to the Church as King Charles; that Reli-

gion flourish'd no where but in England ; and no reformed Church retain'd the Face and Dignity of a Church but that : Many of them us'd to deliver their Opinion, that God had therefore severely punish'd the Palatinate, because their Sacrilege had been so great in taking away the Endowments of Bishopricks. Queen Elizabeth her self, who had reform'd Religion, was but coldly prais'd, and all her Virtues forgotten when they remembered how she cut short the Bishoprick of Ely. Henry VIII. was much condemn'd by them, for seizing upon the Abbies, and taking so much out of the several Bishopricks. To maintain therefore that splendor of a Church, which so much pleas'd them, was become their highest endeavour, especially after they had gotten in the Year 1633, an Archbishop after their own Heart, Dr. Laud. Not on'y the Pomp of Ceremonies was daily increas'd, and innovations of great scandal brought into the Church ; but in Point of Doctrine many fair Approaches were made towards Rome ; as he, that pleases to search, may find in the Books of Bishop Laud, Montague, Heylyn, Pocklington, and the rest. And as their Friendship to Rome increas'd, so did their scorn to the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas ; whom, instead of sending that Relief and Succour to them, which God had enabled this Rich Island to do, they fail'd in their greatest Extremities, and instead of Harbours, became Rocks to split them. Archbishop Laud, who was now grown into great favour with the King, made use of it especially to advance the Pomp and Temporal Honours of the Clergy, procuring the Lord Treasurers's Place for Doctor Juxon, Bishop of London ; and endeavouring, as the general report went, to fix the greatest temporal Preferments upon others of that Coat : Insomuch as the People merrily, when they saw that Treasurer, with the other Bishops riding to Westminster, call'd it the Church Triumphant. Doctors and Parsons of Parishes were made every where Justices of Peace, to the great Grievance of the Countrey in Civil Affairs, and depriving them of their Spiritual Edification. The Archbishop, by the same means which he us'd to preserve his Clergy from Contempt, expos'd them to Envy ; and as the wisest could then prophecy, to a more than probability of losing all : As we read of some Men who being foredom'd by an Oracle to a bad Fortune, have ran into it by the same means they us'd to prevent it. The like unhappy course did the Clergy then take to depress Puritanism, which was to set up Irreligion it self against it, the worst Weapon which they could have chosen to beat it down ; which appear'd especially in Point of keeping the Lord's Day ; when not only Books were written to shake the Morality of it, as that of Sunday no Sabbath, but Sports and Pastimes of Jollity and Light-
ness

ness permitted to the Countrey People, upon that Day, by publick Authority, and the Warrant commanded to be read in Churches; which instead of producing the intended Effect, may credibly be thought to have been one motive to a stricter observance of that Day; and many Men who had before been loose and careless, began upon that occasion to enter into a more serious consideration of it, and were asham'd to be invited by the Authority of Church-Men, to that which themselves at the best, could but have pardon'd in themselves, as a thing of infirmity. The example of the Court, where Plays were usually presented on Sundays, did not so much draw the Countrey to imitation, as reflect with disadvantage upon the Court it self; and sower those other Court-Pastimes and Jollities, which would have relish'd better without that, in the Eyes of all the People, as things ever allowed to the Delights of Great Princes. The Countenancing of looseness and irreligion, was, no doubt, a good Preparative to the introducing of another Religion: And the Power of Godliness being beaten down, Popery might more easily by degrees enter: And tho' it were questionable, whether the Bishops and Great Clergy of England aim'd at Popery, it is too apparent, such was the design of Romish Agents; and the English Clergy, if they did not their own Work, did theirs. A stranger of that Religion, a Venetian Gentleman, out of his own observations in England, will tell you how far they were going in this kind; his Words are: 'The Universities, Bishops, and Divines of England, do daily embrace Catholick Opinions, tho' they profess it not with open Mouth, for fear of the Puritans: For Example, they hold that the Church of Rome is a true Church; that the Pope is superior to all Bishops; that to him it appertains to call general Councils, that it is lawful to pray for Souls departed; that Altars ought to be erected: In fine, they believe all that is taught by the Church, but not by the Court of Rome.

By all these it is very † evident, that the liberty and the delight then taken in Plays and Opera's, did help sadly to corrupt the minds and manners of our People, and to let in that Looseness and Irreligion, which serv'd to suggest the Wickedness and Villanies, soon after acted in the Civil War.

Fifthly and lastly, Dr. Kennet justly * reckons Hypocrisie as another lamentable Cause of King Charles's Murder: For, no doubt, many sincere Christians came in with a good meaning to one side of the unhappy Quarrel, as well as to the other. But the prime Engines, and the Workers of them on the prevailing side, were most of them Men of Craft, and dreadful dissemblers with God and Heaven.

† Dr. Kennet's Sermon, p. 23†

* See his Sermon, p. 23, 24, 25.

ven. *What artificial Fasts! What procuring Prayers! What deluding Speeches! What abuse of Holy Scripture! What a noise of Cursing Meroz, of Fighting the Lord's Battels, of binding Kings in Chains, &c! Nay, and how, at last, was the fatal blow given, by an utmost stretch in Hypocrisie, by one † Commander putting off * another more Tender and Loyal with a sham pretence of seeking God in Prayer, while in the mean time the Royal Blood was shed, and the others Plea to spare it, was then to no purpose.*

† Crom-
well.

* Lord
Fairfax.

All Parties allow that Cromwel was the chief Promoter of the King's Murder; and that Hypocrisie was his Characteristical Quality, is also acknowledg'd by all. His whole Army, says † Pag. 252 Sir Philip Warwick in his † Memoirs, 'was of Men who had 'all either naturally the Phanatick Humour, or soon imbibed 'it. A Herd of this sort of Men being by him drawn together, he himself like Mahomet, having transports of Fancy, and 'withal a Crafty understanding, knowing, that natural Principles, tho' not morally good, will conduce to the attainment of Natural and Politick ends, made use of the Zeal 'and Credulity of these Persons, teaching them that they engag'd for God, when he led them against the King. And 'these Men habited more to Spiritual Pride, than Carnal Riot 'or Intemperance, so consequently having been Industrious 'and Active in their former Professions, where natural Courage 'wanted, Zeal supplied its Place; and at first they chose rather to die than flie; and Custom remov'd fear of danger; 'and afterwards finding the sweet of good Pay, and of opulent Plunder, and of Preferment, the lucrative Part made 'Gain seem to them a natural Member of Godliness.

* Pag. 309. 'The Bloody Independants, says the same * Author, drew the Curtain, and shew how tragical their design had been 'from the beginning. There are no words in the Army, but 'that the King had been a Man of Blood, and therefore 'must be presented to Blood.

† Father
D'Orle-
ans Reve-
lations of
England.
Vol. III.
p. 42.

'If the Puritans, says the † French Historian I quoted before, adventur'd on this blow, 'twas only in expectation of 'an occasion to attempt a more decisive one, by extinguishing the Royal Authority, with which Episcopacy should fall. I say the Royal Authority, not the King's Person and Dignity: 'For we must do the Puritans the justice to own, that they never intended to carry their Crime so far; and that they 'only prepared the Victim, which a more bloody Sect Sacrificed. — 'Tis hard † to determine when this inhumane 'design

† Pag. 112.
113.

' design was form'd by the Sect of the *Independents*, for so they
 ' were call'd, because they pretended to carry the *Evangelical*
 ' *Liberty* farther than the *Puritans*. These new Sectaries were
 ' at first no otherwise distinguish'd from the *Presbyterians* than,
 ' (as in all Religious Societies the zealous and fervent are di-
 ' stinguish'd from the *Lukewarm*, and the *strict* from the *re-*
 ' *miss*) by a greater averfeness to Pompous Ceremonies and
 ' Preheminences in Church and State; by a greater Zeal to
 ' reduce the Practice of the Gospel to its pristine Purity, by
 ' Prayers, Conversations and Discourses, which seem'd to be
 ' the result of Enthusiasm and Inspiration. Their Opinions
 ' about *Independency*, (for they rejected not only Bishops, but
 ' even Synods) procur'd them a particular appellation, and
 ' rendred them suspected to the *Presbyterians*, with whom they
 ' had some disputes. But notwithstanding this opposition, the
 ' *Independents* adding Artifice, Flattery, Promises, and good Of-
 ' fices to their affected Air of Sanctity, made such a Progress,
 ' that they form'd a numerous Sect of those that had been
 ' impos'd upon by their *Hypocrisie*; and a formidable Faction
 ' of ambitious and mercenary Men, whom they gain'd in all
 ' the other Sects, by their Address and Policy. 'Twas one
 ' among the latter, who afterwards became the chief of the
 ' *whole Cabal*, and who was so already without being taken
 ' notice of. A Man born without any natural propensity to
 ' *Evil*, or any inclination to Virtue; having an equal Facility
 ' to practice all Virtues, and to commit all Crimes, accord-
 ' ing as either suited with his designs. By this stroke *Oliver*
 ' *Cromwel* will easily be known. His excellent Talent for
 ' War, already so fatal to the King's Party, having added
 ' much Luster to his Qualification for business, gain'd him
 ' such an ascendant over all those of his Faction, that he was
 ' become the very Soul of it. Modesty and Devotion, which
 ' of all the Virtues he wanted, were those he could best
 ' *dissemble*, had the more solidly establish'd that Superiority, as
 ' it gave the least offence to the *Independency* profess'd by that
 ' Sect, in a Man who seem'd not to affect it, but rather to
 ' have nothing in view, besides the Good of Religion and
 ' the Publick.

Thus it appears, from all the irrefragable Testimonies alrea-
 dy cited, *That with plainness of Truth*, the Reverend Dr. Ken-
 net has inquired into, and mark'd the *most Visible Causes of the*
Civil War, which ended in the Murder of King Charles.

When

When all other Arguments fail, Dr. Kennet's Preface to his fine Translation of *Pliny's Panegyrick*, is industriously, and very *unfairly* brought in as Evidence against its Author, to prove he had more *Loyalty* under the Reign of King *James*, than under that of Queen *Ann*. But to me it seems, (and I hope all Candid and Impartial Judges will be of my mind) that in this Sermon that Reverend Divine does not in the least Swerv from his former avowed abhorrence of all Sedition and Rebellion; since by laying before us the *true Causes* of that *unnatural Civil War*, which terminated in the destruction of the Monarchy and the Martyrdom of the Monarch, he wisely cautions both those who govern, and those who are govern'd, carefully to avoid any thing that might tend to break or hurt, our present happy Constitution, which God preserve.



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